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## GREEK IN PLINY'S LETTERS

In Pliny's Laurentian villa there was a pleasant room where the sun shone all day through a great bay window (2.17.8). He had built in the wall a little book case, which, he says, *non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit*. He does not give a list of these books. References and quotations in his letters, however, allow a fairly confident conjecture of some of his favorite reading, and we know that it included some Greek. It is my purpose to gather from Pliny's correspondence whatever can be learned of his interest in Greek literature and about his knowledge of the Greek language. The Letters justify a few positive assertions of Pliny's interest in certain Greek authors. But the meagreness of his references to Greek literature must lead us to discount inferences from his silence. With this preliminary warning I shall venture to call attention to some of these omissions as well as to Pliny's praise and quotation of the Greek poets and orators.

When Pliny lived, the great age of Greece lay almost as far from the Romans as the age of Dante lies from us. Yet Greek was still the popular and the literary language of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, and in Rome it was traditionally associated with the higher intellectual interests and the arts, with philosophy, oratory, and poetry. The tradition is illustrated by the Imperial patronage of Greek studies. Instances of this are conveniently collected in Mayor's note on Juvenal 15.110: Suetonius relates that Tiberius liked to puzzle his guests with pedantic memory-questions on Greek poetry and mythology (Tib. 70), that Caligula offered prizes for Greek oratory as well as Latin, in the provincial town of Lyons (Calig. 20), that a similar competition was instituted in Rome by Domitian (Dom. 4), and that Vespasian provided for the support of both Greek and Latin rhetoricians at public expense (Vesp. 8). The philhellenism of Hadrian is well known, and has left its visible monuments in the columns of the Olympieum at Athens and in the treasures of sculpture with which the Villa at Tivoli has enriched the museums of Europe. Marcus Aurelius chose to record his Meditations in Greek as the language of philosophy, although it was in his time that Pausanias was writing a guide to Greece whose very antiquarian sentiment sadly implies the decay of Hellenic civilization on its original soil. The consideration and almost filial forbearance which educated Romans showed towards Greece in her childish and petulant decline are reflected in Pliny's letter to Maximus (8.24), who

had been appointed by the Emperor to carry out certain reforms in Achaia.

Pliny describes two of the numerous Greek rhetoricians who lectured in Rome: Euphrates the Syrian, an old friend of his (1.19), and a certain Isaeus (2.3). But better evidence of the diffusion of Greek culture in that part of Roman society with which Pliny was most intimately connected may be found in the number of persons to whom he addresses letters containing some Greek word, quotation, or allusion—supposably to be understood and appreciated by his correspondent. I have counted thirty-seven. One is the Emperor Trajan. Thirteen are known to have been men of senatorial rank, the kind of persons whom Pliny met on most nearly equal terms. These include such men as Calestrius Tiro (6.22); Vestricius Spurinna (5.17), to whom Pliny writes with enthusiasm of a public reading by a young patrician, Calpurnius Piso; and Fuscus Salinator (7.9), a young friend who asks Pliny's advice on the conduct of his studies in the country. Others are men of letters, or men of distinctly literary interests, but of less distinguished social and official position than Pliny. Among these are Suetonius (1.18); Julius Genitor (7.30), a rhetorician who was recommended by Pliny to Corellia as a tutor for her son; and Caninius, who attempted an epic on the Dacian Wars (3.7; 8.4). Two are marked both by high rank and by literary interests: Arrius Antoninus (4.3; 4.18), whose Greek epigrams Pliny admired so much that he tried to imitate them in Latin, and, more important than any of the others, Cornelius Tacitus (1.20). Some are known to have been lawyers who pleaded cases before the courts, and as such had a certain community of interests with Pliny. Among these are Fuscus Salinator (7.9; 9.36), whom Pliny counsels in the matter of literary exercises, and Ummidius Quadratus (7.13), both young patricians whose appearance on opposing sides before the prefect of the city delighted Pliny (6.11). Other such *advocati* to whom Pliny writes with Greek references are Cornelius Minicius (4.11) and Voconius Romanus (6.33), to whom he sends a copy of his speech for Attia Variola. Without trying to complete the list, we may note that three such letters are sent to Pliny's old friend and neighbor at Como, Calvisius (2.20; 3.1; 8.2) and four to Maximus (2.14; 8.24; 9.1; 9.23), whom Trajan sent out to regulate the condition of Achaia.

It may be remarked that there is no Greek in any of Pliny's letters to women: whether because the subjects

did not suggest Greek words or allusions, or because Roman ladies were not generally expected to understand the language. In a popular handbook on Roman education<sup>1</sup> it is stated that the daughter of Fundanus knew Greek; but I can find no ground for this assertion in the letter in which Pliny laments her untimely death (5.16). Sallust tells of one woman of rank who was skilled in Greek—Sempronia, the wife of Decimus Junius Brutus (*Catilina* 25), but it may be inferred from this reference that in Republican times, at least, such knowledge was uncommon among Roman ladies.

Of the fifty-five letters containing Greek references twenty-two may be classified as literary letters. They are devoted to such subjects as (1) Pliny's own compositions, in oratory (4.5.1, to Sparsus; 7.30, to Julius Genitor), or in poetry (7.4, to Pontius Allifanus); (2) the works of Pliny's friends—Arrius Antoninus's Greek epigrams (4.3), or Caninius's epic on the Dacian Wars (8.4); (3) public readings and lectures by Pliny's friends, as the reading of Calpurnius Piso (5.17, to Spurinna), and that of Serius Augurinus (4.27, to Pompeius Falco), or the oratory of Isaeus, the rhetorician (2.3, to Metilius Neps); (4) the theory of oratory (1.20, to Tacitus; 9.26, to Lupercus); (5) literary exercises, e.g. the letter of advice to Fuscus (7.9).

It is natural that Pliny should quote Greek in writing on these topics. But we shall also find occasional quotations or isolated Greek words in other letters on the most varied themes: in the anecdotes about Regulus, for instance (2.20.12, to Calvisius), or in his description of his own prosecution of Publius Cestus in the interest of Arria and Fannia (9.13.20, to Quadratus), or his refusal to appear against the Baetici (1.7.1.4, to Octavius Rufus).

The letter to Maximus on his appointment to a commission in Greece is Pliny's most direct expression of reverence for the country which had bequeathed its *humanitas* and its *litterae* to Rome (8.24). But there are incidental remarks and allusions which reflect the same feeling—a feeling which must be regarded not as a special and individual characteristic of Pliny, but rather as belonging to the atmosphere of educated society in Rome.

Thus, writing of Spurinna's literary diversions in old age (3.1.7), he says, *scribit enim, et quidem utraque lingua, lyrics doctissime*. This tacit recognition of only one language besides Latin is also found in Horace, *Carm. 3.8.5*, and in Quintilian 1. Proem. 1.

There is a pleasant letter telling of a visit to a country gentleman whose mental horizon Pliny had supposed to be determined by the interests of his farm and household (7.25). Pliny was unexpectedly entertained *doctissimo sermone*, and writes

'How terse all his talk! how Latin, how Greek! For he has such ability in both languages that he seems to excel in the one he is speaking most. . . . You would suppose the man lived in Athens, not in a country place'.

<sup>1</sup>A. S. Wilkins, *Roman Education*, 42.

Some of Pliny's friends tried to write Greek verse. Arrius composed epigrams (4.3), Caninius an epic (8.4). Pliny approves of Caninius's attempt, and is enthusiastic over the success of Arrius: 'A Roman speaking in such Greek phrase! Why, I should say Athens itself is not so Attic'. A little later he writes to Arrius that he has been trying to imitate the epigrams in Latin, and—perhaps quoting Lucretius 1.140—excuses his possible failure on the ground *egestate patrii sermonis*.

Describing to Fuscus his daily programme at the Tuscan villa, Pliny says (9.36.3), 'I read aloud, distinctly and carefully, a Greek or a Latin oration'. To the same young man he had already sent advice on studies in the country (7.9.1-2):

'It is especially profitable, and advised by many, to translate either from Greek into Latin or from Latin into Greek: by this sort of exercise precision and brilliancy of diction, wealth of figures, and vigor of exposition are secured, and, moreover, through imitation of the best models, a facility in attaining similar excellences; matters, too, that would have escaped the reader cannot escape the translator. Intelligence and judgment are developed by this practice'.

A considerable number of isolated Greek words and phrases, apart from quotations, is to be found in Pliny's letters, though he does not scatter them with so free a hand as Cicero does in his letters to Atticus. Some of these words are rare—one or two are not discoverable in Liddell and Scott, at any rate. In the lack of evidence for the usage of some it has been difficult to classify them. I have attempted a division into four groups: (1) technical words and phrases; (2) words which, while not precisely technical, seem to have connoted something which could not be conveniently expressed in Latin; (3) slang words; (4) Greek words used where Latin would do as well. The boundaries dividing these groups are not always clear.

(1) The technical terms are few. Two are used in the description of Isaeus's oratory (2.3.3). These are (a) *ἐνθυμήματα*, which Quintilian (5.14.2) describes as a sort of abbreviated syllogism: presumably Pliny uses the word in the same tense<sup>2</sup>; (b) *ἴξις*, which Quintilian (10.1.1) defines as an indispensable *prima facilitas*—the ease and readiness which perfect command of one's own resources gives. Pliny must have heard both these terms in Quintilian's lecture-room.

Another word which has a technical application in rhetoric is *κεφάλαιον*. Pliny mentions a private hearing of the case of Bruttianus against Atticinus (6.22.2), where both spoke briefly, *carpīm el κατὰ κεφάλαιον*, taking up each point briefly and reviewing only the main heads of the argument. Quintilian (3.11.27) quotes the word from Menander, and gives the Latin equivalent, *caput rei*.

The word *λήκυθοι* (1.2.4) which Pliny quotes from Cicero, *Ad Att. 1.14.3* has hardly the dignity of a

<sup>2</sup>On the changes of meaning which this word underwent in the usage of Greek writers from Aristotle on, see Robert's Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Three Literary Letters*, 190.

technical term, but is Cicero's jesting and almost slang word for the rhetorical flourishes of his Orations.

Two technical phrases which belong to the social and political system of the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire occur. In one Pliny inquires about the civil status of persons who are freeborn, but were exposed in infancy and adopted. These are called *θερτοί* (10.65.2). The name given to the administrative divisions of Egypt under the Ptolemies and continued by the Romans is found in another letter to the Emperor (10.10.1), where a man is mentioned as a resident *νομοῦ Μεμφίτου*.

A word of technical signification in athletics is used in another letter to Trajan (10.118). Pliny asks whether certain payments to the victors known as *iselastici* should be made from the time when these successful contestants *εισῆλασαν*, i.e. rode in triumph into their cities, or from the date of the contest itself. This use of *εισελάνων* belongs only to late Greek literature<sup>1</sup>. It is found in Plutarch, Mar. 12, Cat. Min. 31, and in Dio Cassius 13.20 (compare Hardy, Plinii Epistulae ad Trajanum, page 233).

(2) The second and largest class is of words which were not really technical, but were a part of the dialect of education and intellectual interests.

Some of these are used in connection with forensic oratory, in which Pliny took a special interest. He describes the prosecution which he and Tacitus conducted against Marius Priscus as a *λειτουργούντι* (2.11.3; 2.12.1). In his account of the trial he uses the word *σεμών* to characterize the peculiar dignity and effectiveness of Tacitus's speech (compare Cicero Ad Att. 2.1.3). In a letter to Tacitus on the appropriate excellences of a published oration as contrasted with a speech actually delivered, he describes the written oration as *exemplar et quasi ἀρχέτυπον* of the speech (1.20.9)—a pattern or original of which the speech is an imitation. In another letter on the theory of oratory, defending the occasional use of bold metaphors, he says, 'For those expressions are the most admirable which are the least looked for, most perilous, and, as the Greeks better express it, *παράβολα*, risky'. Longinus, De Sublimitate 32, calls bold metaphors *τὰ παράβολα*.

In sending one of his orations to Arrianus Pliny remarks (1.2.1) with some complacency that he fancies he never wrote anything with equal *ξήλος* before. We may conjecture that this word was especially applied by Pliny and his friends to the enthusiasm of literary composition. Strabo (648) describes a rhetorician of Magnesia who was renowned for his Asiatic *ξήλος* or fire (see Merrill, Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny, page 161).

<sup>1</sup>See Hardy, Plinii Epistulae ad Trajanum, page 105.

The MSS have **ΑΙΤΟΤΡΓΙΩΝ** and Professor Merrill believes the word is from **λιτός**. The known uses of **λιτούργος** and **λιτούργεων**, however, do not justify his interpretation of the word here, and the writing of I for EI must have been easy even as early as the time of Pliny, since the pronunciation of the two was probably identical.

In the case of the Baetici against Marius Priscus, Pliny was associated with Lucceius Albinus; and he speaks with pleasure of the harmony with which they sustained this cause, in spite of the fact that reputation, especially in studies, habet quiddam *ἀκοινονθήτος*, 'something which tends to a lack of harmony' (3.9.8). Here Pliny is obviously using a Greek word to express an idea which cannot be so easily expressed in Latin. Cicero, Ad Att. 6.1, avails himself of the same word in describing the tone of Brutus's letters to himself: *ad me autem, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, adroganter, ἀκοινονθτως* solet scribere. Marcus Aurelius, Thoughts, 1:16, has the word *κοινωνημοσύνη*, which denotes a feeling of community with the world in which one lives. It is a word of the Stoic vocabulary.

Two or three other Greek words are used by Pliny to denote other ideas associated with the world of intellectual and aesthetic tastes. Thus he calls his villa at Laurentum verum secretumque *μονοτίου* (1.9.6). He praises the poet Silius Italicus as *φιλόκαλος* (3.7.7), 'a lover of the beautiful', a character which Italicus manifested in his extravagant purchase of objects of art. In a letter to Cicero, Gaius Cassius defends a certain Pansa together with other Epicureans, declaring that those whom you call *φιλόδόκοντα*, 'lovers of pleasure,' are *φιλόκαλοι* and *φιλοθίκαιοι*, 'lovers of the beautiful' and 'lovers of righteousness' (Cicero, Ad Fam. 15.19). Pliny has the negative of this word in his letter about the rhetorician Isaeus, saying that it would be the mark of an *ἀφιλόκαλος* not to desire acquaintance with such a man (2.3.8).

Pliny (2.2.1) employs a Greek word in characterizing the nature of affection for a friend: 'You know how love is sometimes unfair, often uncontrolled, always *μικραίτος*, "inclined to find fault in trifles"'. This word also must be classed as one whose meaning could not be given so aptly in Latin.

(3) A piece of current slang from the Forum is the word *σοφοκλεῖς*, ironically applied to the parasites hired to applaud the speeches of some presumptuous young lawyers who are pleading cases in the highest courts (2.14.5).

(4) The last class consists of Greek words which are all but slang, that is, words used where Pliny could probably have found equally expressive words in Latin: as when he speaks of Regulus as *δισκαθάρετος* (1.5.15); or he writes to Suetonius, 'I appeared, nevertheless, *λογισδμένος* that line of Homer', etc. (1.18.4); or when, promising to send to Cornelius Ursus his oration against Julius Bassus, he says, *habebis hanc interim epistolam ut πρόδρομος*, as a courier preceding the oration itself.

Several Greek phrases of from two to five words which are not demonstrably quotations occur. They seem to be intended simply to give an air of vivacity to the letter, somewhat as an occasional French phrase might be used by a modern writer. So, in the letter on Regulus's legacy-hunting, after some entertaining

illustrations of Regulus's avarice, Pliny goes on (2.20.12)

*ἀλλὰ τι διατίρευται;* 'Why do I exert myself in a State where lainess and rascality have long enjoyed no smaller rewards, or rather greater rewards, than modesty and virtue?'

Another example is in a letter to a friend whom he asked to look over an oration of his own (7.12.2):

'I send it to you rather late so that you may not have time to mend it, that is, to spoil it. But you will have time, whether to emend it, I don't know, but at any rate, to spoil it. *Τυεῖς γάρ οἱ εἴζηλοι*, "for you studious people prune away all the best parts".'

In a letter to Trajan Pliny reports his safe arrival at Ephesus in these words: *Nuntio tibi me Ephesum cum omnibus meis ἐν τῷ Μαλέᾳ navigasse quamvis contrariais ventis retentum* (10.15). The use of the Greek words may have been suggested by a reminiscence of allusions in Greek literature to the dangers of Malea. Another phrase, *πάντα λίθον κινῶ* (1.20.16), 'I move every stone', i.e. make every possible effort, sounds like a common proverb or quotation, but has not been discovered in precisely this form in any Greek author. Professor Merrill compares it with Euripides, *Heraclidae* 1002.

Two Greek words are found in remarks which Pliny quotes, enough to show that foreign phrases had their place in Roman conversation as well as in literary composition. One is the laconic *έκπτε* with which Corellius Rufus emphasized his determination of voluntary death (1.12.10). Another example, which seems to have less point, is the Emperor's injunction to some senators who were in council with him in a case of a forged will (6.31.12), *προστήσατε quid facere debeamus*, 'Determine what we ought to do'.

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(To be concluded)

## REVIEWS

Manuel D'Archéologie Romaine. By Cagnat and Chapot. Tome Premier. Les Monuments, Décoration des Monuments, Sculpture. Paris: A. Picard (1915). Pp. xxvi+735. 15 Francs.

This is the first genuine manual of Roman archaeology in any language and the testing of it as a text-book in my advanced course on Roman archaeology last year has convinced me that it will long remain the most useful book on the subject. Jones's excellent Companion to Roman History (of which much use is made in this volume), Sandys's very good work, A Companion to Latin Studies, Ramsay and Lanciani's Manual of Roman Antiquities, Walters's Art of the Romans, and Mrs. Strong's Roman Sculpture have much archaeological information, and there are better books on the Fora and on Roman architecture and methods of construction; but there is as yet no good handbook covering the whole field of Roman archaeology, as this important French publication will cover it.

No better scholars than Cagnat and his brilliant pupil Chapot, with their unusually wide experience in archaeological and historical researches, not only in the Roman antiquities of Italy, but of Britain, Gaul, Germany, Greece, Asia Minor, and Africa (which, thanks to Cagnat, occupies much space in the volume), could have been found for such a task. Cagnat's Manual of Roman Epigraphy and his Inscriptions Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes, and his publications on Timgad and on The Monuments of Tunis and other works, and Chapot's scholarly La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie and other publications have made the authors known as original and at the same time sane classical scholars. In the present volume they have not allowed their great learning to interfere with their producing not only a logical and scientific but an extremely practical handbook. There are no inappropriate discussions or digressions or useless accumulations of examples. The 371 illustrations are well-selected (several of those from Africa and elsewhere are not generally shown), but unfortunately the poor quality of the paper has in the case of several, which are reproduced from photographs, obscured the sharpness of detail.

After a suggestive Introduction concerning the meaning of Roman archaeology and some new and pertinent remarks (such as the remark on page xix that Rome owes no less to the Orient than to Greece), about Italian, Etruscan, Greek, Egyptian, Asiatic and Occidental influences, follow chapters on building materials, their use, roads, bridges and ports, villages, walls, and gates, cisterns, aqueducts, fountains and sewers, the Forum and its monuments, religious monuments (including altars, temples and chapels), places for spectacles (such as theaters, odeums, amphitheaters, circuses, and stadiums), baths, private and public, market-places and shops, libraries, camps and defenses of the frontier, honorific monuments (such as trophies and columns), private houses of village and country, and, finally, in Part I, Chapter XVI, funeral monuments. Part II deals in thirteen chapters with the technique of sculpture in the round and in relief, with the subjects treated by sculpture, divinities, imperial and other portraits, genre motives, decorative reliefs, reliefs with religious, funeral, historical, military, and genre subjects, and, finally, with the subjects on lamps, reliefs on stucco, and painted pottery. There is no index, but the systematic arrangement by chapters and sections and the use of many captions make an index unnecessary.

The book is thoroughly up-to-date and knows the latest literature, scattered as it is. Even sarcophagi in Baltimore (661) are described; and American scholars receive full credit for their work. Miss Van Deman's dating of imperial brick-faced constructions is accepted, Professor Frothingham's articles on the Arch of Constantine (American Journal of Archaeology 19 [1915], 367 ff.) are known, and even the dissertation

on Roman sacrificial altars, by a former student of mine at Bryn Mawr, Miss Bowerman, is cited several times, though her name is misspelt (136, 138). In the bibliography, arranged alphabetically, I miss only a few titles, such as Strzygowski, Orient Oder Rom, and Kleinasien, Ein Neuland Der Kunstgeschichte. For marbles (4, note 1) Lepsius, Griechische Marmorstudien, and Miss Porter's What Rome Was Built With, should have been included. Among the periodicals should be inserted Ausonia, Bollettino d' Arte, and especially the Journal of Roman Studies (the Journal of Hellenic Studies is given). There are a few misprints, but there are not many errors of fact. The temple of Castor is wrongly cited as the temple of Castor and Pollux (22, 145, 146). The illustration (24, Fig. 8) said to be taken from Choisy is somewhat different from that given by Choisy. A study of excavations at Ephesus, Miletus, Didyma, Pergamum, etc., would have qualified the statement (29) that Greece and Asia Minor were scarcely influenced by Roman methods of construction. The Appian Way does not still preserve its ancient pavement for the greatest part of its course (44). To the list of Roman bridges (48) might be added several, especially those in Syria published by Professor Butler, and there is more than one Roman bridge at Merida (50). The Sette Sale are on the Esquiline, not on the Aventine (87). We miss references to the four great reservoirs at Praeneste as well as to the Nymphaeum at Miletus (106). In the discussion of the Basilica and its origin (129) there is no reference to Lemaire, L'Origine de la Basilique Latine (1911). For the rostra (123, 148) there should be a reference to Miss Van Deman's paper in American Journal of Archaeology 13 (1909), 170 ff.; for the temple of Vesta (151) to her monograph on the Atrium Vestae. Agrippa should not be included among the adopted sons of Augustus in honor of whom the Maison Carrée was built. Only Gaius and Lucius Caesar are mentioned in the inscription (151). The rotunda of the Pantheon is not built of brick, but of brick concrete (153). It is difficult to see how the front row of eight columns, which is generally dated in the time of Hadrian or later, goes back to the Augustan Age, if the original portico was decastyle, as is said. Many scholars think that the inscription to Agrippa is a restoration of the time of Hadrian, who was fond of such restorations, and generally omitted his own name. For the sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on the Janiculum (163-164) refer also to Gatti in Bull. della Com. Arch. Com., 1909, 97 f.; for Dougga (165 f.) refer to Carton's little book on Thugga. It is stated (173) that the first complete theater, in wood, is not older than 150 B. C., but I know of no such wooden theater earlier than that of M. Aemilius Scaurus built about 58 B. C., and hardly any Greek archaeologist believes that "chez les Grecs, l'action se passait, partie sur la scène, partie sur la plate-forme de l'orchestre, les acteurs occupaient la

scène", nor that the Romans (174) ignored the chorus (compare Miss Duckett, Studies in Ennius, 53 ff., and Professor R. C. Flickinger, The Greek Theater and its Drama, 117, 149). For Orange (183, 195, etc.) compare not only Caristie's work of 1856, but also Chatelain, Les Monuments Romaines d'Orange (1908). In the list of Roman theaters no account is given of the important Roman theater at Ephesus or of the unusually well-preserved and very impressive one excavated by the Germans at Miletus. For amphitheaters (192) refer also to Nissen, Pompeianische Studien, and Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome. For the statement (193) that the balustrade was surmounted by rollers which turned on touching, we should have a reference to Calpurnius's seventh Eclogue, which is a very important literary source of information on amphitheaters. In a mention of the stadia of Asia Minor (207), that of Aphrodisias, the important Roman ruins of which are neglected, deserves notice, and among the baths (212 ff.) those at Miletus are lacking (compare plans in Wiegand's seventh report on excavations at Miletus, in Abhandlungen Der König. Preuss. Akad., 1911). For a different meaning of *insula* as apartment or apartment house (292) a reference is needed to Cuq, Une Statistique de Locaux Affectés à l'Habitation dans la Rome Impériale (1915). Honos is not the only masculine abstract deity (461). Bonus Eventus, Robigus, Dies Bonus, Pallor, Pavor (Livy 1.27.7) are others. A reference is lacking to Axtell, The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions. It is interesting to see, in view of many statements to the contrary, that the authors believe that the Romans painted their statues (367-368). For Marcianna (503), whose portrait occurs on coins, compare also the marble head in Boston (Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14 [1916], 36-38). No reference is made to Dennison's theory (American Journal of Archaeology 9.11-43) that the busts thought to represent Scipio (509) are really those of priests of Isis. For Ara Pacis (141, 624) refer to Studniczka's later work, Zur Ara Pacis (1909), as well as to Petersen (1902). Some scholars, who have recently been exaggerating the originality of Roman sculpture, especially in protraiture and historical reliefs, will be surprised that Mm. Cagnat and Chapot allow so little creative genius to the Romans and even attribute the reliefs on the Trajan column to Greek artists (641 ff.). But it is really true that the first idea of historical reliefs was not born at Rome. There are prototypes in Assyria, Persia, and many examples on Hellenistic and especially Pergamene reliefs (619). On the other hand (682) too much credit is given the Romans for being the first to decorate their lamps, for the Greeks often decorated the top or discus of their clay lamps with scenes in relief.

It would easily be possible to call attention to many more such small errors or omissions, but it would give

a false impression. I have noted a few points, however, to show that my opinion that this will long remain the best handbook of Roman archaeology is based on a careful reading and actual use of the book in the classroom. Students of Roman archaeology will await with eagerness the second volume, which will discuss painting and mosaic, and the third volume, which is to take up Roman Public and Private Life. France is to be congratulated on keeping up its classical scholarship in war times and producing such a handbook as this, as well as recently completing, with the help of Pottier, the most important dictionary of classical antiquities, Daremberg et Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, to which Cagnat and Chapot have contributed many articles.

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DAVID M. ROBINSON.

A History of Ancient Coinage 700-300 B.C. By Percy Gardner. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press (1918). Pp. xvi + 463. 11 Plates. \$7.20.

This is one of the most important books which have appeared in recent years in the field of classical archaeology. The science of ancient numismatics has undergone great development in the last fifty years and such important works as Head's *Historia Numorum*, Babelon's *Traité Des Monnaies Grecques*, and the twenty-seven volumes of the Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum have blazed the way for the first real broad historical sketch of Greek coinage as an organic unity, by a scholar who is historian as well as numismatist, who takes (page x)

cities in groups rather than separately, tracing lines of trade influence from district to district, trying to discern the reasons why coin standards found acceptance in one locality or another.

More than sixteen years of association in the British Museum with Barclay Head (to whom the book is dedicated) and his own numerous researches have made Professor Percy Gardner one of our foremost authorities on Greek coins. His papers on the origin of coinage, and on the coinages of the Ionian revolt (in which he first identified a uniform coinage issued by the cities of Ionia which took part in the revolt against Persia in the years 500-494 B.C.), and his papers on the coinage of the Athenian Empire, showing Athens's pride and love of dominance (motives even to-day as strong as those of commercial advantage in world politics), have solved many a difficult problem. They have been rewritten and are incorporated in the present volume, the Introduction of which can be read with pleasure by laymen as well as scholar. This Introduction (pages 1-66) contains an account of Greek trade-routes, classes of traders, bankers, early measures of value, the origin of coin-standards, mutual relations of precious metals, rights of coinage, monetary alliances, mother-city and colony, standard currencies, monometallism and bimetallism, the dating of Greek coins, hoards, and fabrics. Then follows a more

detailed treatment, in Chapters I-XIII, of the First Period, 700 to 480 B.C., and in Chapters XIV-XXI, of the Second Period, 480-300 B.C. After the General Index there is a description of the coins shown on the Plates.

Aside from its originality and its treatment of really difficult problems the book is characterized by insistence on the significance of varieties of standards rather than on the attractiveness of types and symbols, and by dating coins with reference to definite historical events. For instance, Professor Gardner dates coins with the olive crown on Athena's helmet after the battle of Marathon and ascribes the earliest tetradrachms to Pisistratus and a great celebration of the Panathenaic festival (page 155). Decadrachms such as the famous Damareteia were issued only on the occasion of some great national triumph (163). The impoverishment of Athens due to the disastrous Sicilian expedition is marked by an issue of gold coins of necessity (291). The idea that the Chalcidian League (as Mr. Allen B. West has shown in Classical Philology 9 [1914], 24-34) existed as early as the time of Xerxes and was organized more firmly in 432 B.C. is confirmed by coins.

The book is full of good suggestions, though many are debatable. It may very likely be, though the literary tradition is not to be so lightly discarded, that coins originated with the Greeks of Asia Minor and not with the Lydians. The American excavations at Sardis so far have brought to light only two coins from the time of Croesus out of 419 Greek coins, but only sixteen of the 419 are from the Pre-Alexandrian period. Further digging in earlier strata may reveal early Lydian coins (see Mr. Bell's excellent and beautifully printed publication of Sardis coins, in Sardis, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, Volume XI, Part I, 1910-1914, a work published in 1916, to which Professor Gardner might have referred). In Europe it was the Aeginetans, the pedlars of Greece, who first struck money, not the Phoenician merchants, who did not need a coinage to dispose of great quantities of goods. Other statements are much less trustworthy, such as the idea (17) that the Greek temples could not lend money (compare the Sardis mortgage inscription, American Journal of Archaeology 16 [1912], 59). There are only a few minor errors, such as the statement on page 19 that at Athens 8 obols instead of 6 went to the drachm. On pages 18, 230, etc., the Corpus of Inscriptions should have been referred to as I.G., not as C.I. On page 230 Professor Gardner declares that "The best ruddle came from Ceos". But the Cean ruddle was not always considered the best; Pliny favors the Lemnian, Strabo the Sinopean or Sinopis. On pages 75, 224, 226, 438 there are misprints; on page 240 "westward" should be 'eastward'. On page 173 there is a wrong reference to the Plates ("VI. 11" for 'VI.9').

On page 201 it is said that at Tarentum obverse and reverse of the coin have different types, but the illustration (Pl. V. 2) to which reference is made has the same type. For Cyzicus we miss a reference to Hasluck's book on Cyzicus. So, for Alexander Coinage, we miss allusion to the brilliant and thorough monograph of one of our best American classical numismatists, Dr. Newell's *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake* (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 10.67-68), though Professor Gardner does know Dr. Newell's articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Let us hope that as good a history of later coinage will soon be available.

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DAVID M. ROBINSON.

*The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys.* By Jan Kochanowski. Translated from the Polish by George Rapall Noyes and Done into English Verse by Ruth Earl Merrill. Berkeley: University of California Press (1918). Pp. 26.

From page 3 of this booklet we learn that Kochanowski was "at once the first great poet of Poland and the greatest of all the poets of his country during its existence as an independent nation". He lived 1530-1584. The translator makes these statements concerning him.

Kochanowski's poems are the fairest flower of the Renaissance in Poland. They are all inspired by classical models, but at the same time they reflect his own personality and his political views. Thus *The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys* is a drama of the learned sort such as had arisen in Italy and France under the influence of Seneca and of the Greek tragedians. In English its closest parallel is the *Gorboduc* (1561) of Sackville and Norton. From this, and from most other similar dramas, it differs by being in closer touch with Greek tragedy; in several passages it contains echoes of Euripides. In Polish literature it is an isolated work, a first and a wonderfully successful attempt at classical drama in the native tongue, which unfortunately passed unnoticed and unimitated by succeeding poets. Into his tragedy Kochanowski introduces allusions to contemporary Polish life. In describing the disorderly Trojan council he is inspired by memories of the tumultuous Polish diet, and through the mouth of Ulysses he rebukes the sloth and luxury of his own countrymen. The Captain near the close of the play utters a warning to the Poles against vain discussion while war is in progress, and finally the words of Antenor that conclude the drama are an appeal for war against Moscow.

The envoys referred to in the play are the envoys who came to Troy to seek Helen: see *Iliad* 3.205-223, 11.138-142; *Livy* 1.1.1. An account of the embassy formed part of the *Cypria*, one of the Cyclic Epic poems (see D. B. Monro's edition of the *Odyssey*, Books XIII-XXIV, pp. 348, 350).

I found the play interesting. The translation, though in places crude, and seldom giving evidence of much poetic power is, on the whole, easy to read.

C. K.

#### THE HORACE CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

A short time ago, through the courtesy of Dr. William H. Klapp, of the Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, I received a copy of a twenty-four page pamphlet entitled *The Horace Club of Philadelphia: Fortieth Anniversary, 1877-1917*. Pages 5-23 contain *A History of the Horace Club*, by Mr. Walter George Smith, founder of the Club. The first members of the Club were Mr. Smith, Mr. Asa I. Fish, first Dean of the Club, Mr. Henry Galbraith Ward, University of Pennsylvania, 1870, Mr. Alfred Theophilus Stork, University of Pennsylvania, 1873, and Mr. J. Albert Hodge, Harvard, 1875. These first members of the Club were all lawyers or students of law. In all its forty years the Club has had but three more members, Dr. William H. Klapp, Harvard, 1871, Charles Horton Stork, Haverford, 1902, and George S. Martin, University of Pennsylvania, 1870. The Club has held at least one session each year, and during most years has held many meetings and has covered a very considerable amount of classical reading. Until May 4, 1879, Mr. Fish was Dean of the Club. Since that time, Dr. Klapp has been Dean.

Two quotations will be of interest:

The method of study was modelled on that so successfully carried out by the Shakespeare Club. Each member was assigned a lesson by the Dean and came prepared to read it and comment upon it. Thereafter the other members submitted their observations and the judgment of the entire body was obtained. The Club read all four books of the Odes of Horace with the exception of some of the last Odes of the Fourth Book and Carmen Seculare, during the years 1877-78 and 1878-79.

Tacitus, Sallust, Aulus Gellius, Cicero, Suetonius, Catullus, Vergil, Persius, Lucretius, Plautus, Ovid, Terence, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenal, Lucan, Boethius, Apuleius, Pliny the Younger, Martial, Petronius, and "good old Mantuan", embrace for the most part the authors who have been read, either in whole or in part.

C. K.

#### A CORRECTION

May I call your attention to a slight inaccuracy of statement which occurred in Dr. Gray's very kind review of my *Gaius Verres. An Historical Study*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.6.

It was not with Göhling that I agreed in regard to the question of Cicero's appreciation of art, but rather with the critics who have treated the subject since Göhling's time. Göhling was an extremist who concluded that Cicero's knowledge of art was not only slight, but of the most elementary character, and whose other conclusions are unduly colored by this preconceived theory. The great orator undoubtedly possessed a considerable knowledge of art and a certain capacity to appreciate it, though he was not a connoisseur, and made no pretensions to be one. It seems beyond question that in this field he was surpassed by Verres.

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## THE AEALEAN ISLE

*A Classical Allusion in Poe*

In one of the poems of Edgar Allan Poe there is an allusion that seems to be evidently classical:

To F—

Beloved! amid the earnest woes  
That crowd around my earthly path—  
(Drear path, alas! where grows  
Not even one lonely rose)—

My soul at least a solace hath  
In dreams of thee, and therein knows  
An Eden of bland repose.

And thus thy memory is to me  
Like some enchanted far-off isle  
In some tumultuous sea—  
Some ocean throbbing far and free  
With storms—but where meanwhile  
Serenest skies continually  
Just o'er that one bright island smile.

Without doubt we have here a direct reference to the Aeolian Isle. On the one hand the poet pictures the turbulence and unrest of the sea, that quality that inspired the words of the prophet Jeremiah, "There is sorrow on the sea; it cannot be quiet", on the other hand the sequestered peace and repose of the enchanted island. It is helpful to compare this poem, To F—, with the youthful poem, To Helen. In each it would appear that the author is implying a likeness between himself and Odysseus, and the fact that we find this apparent motif in the later of the two poems would tend to support the view that the earlier poem should be emended to read 'Phaeacian' instead of 'Nicean' in the second line\*. But this is anticipating. Nevertheless, it is a fact that in both poems Poe figures himself forth as a way-worn wanderer. In the poem with which we are dealing particularly the allusion to Aeaea seems to be beyond question. It may be well in this connection to recall the words spoken by Circe to Odysseus in the enchanted realm "Where that Aeolian isle forgets the Main":

"Son of Laertes, of the seed of Zeus, Odysseus of many devices, no more now wake this plenteous weeping: myself I know of all the pains ye endured upon the teeming deep, and the great despite done you by unkindly men upon the land. Nay come, eat ye meat and drink wine, till your spirit shall return to you again, as it was when first ye left your own country of rugged Ithaca; but now are ye wasted and wanting heart, mindful evermore of your sore wandering, nor has your heart ever been merry, for very grievous hath been your trial".

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<sup>1</sup>Jeremiah 49:23.

<sup>2</sup>Compare A Classical Allusion in Poe, Modern Language Notes 31, 184-185.

<sup>3</sup>Odyssey 10. 456-465, translated by Butcher and Lang.

## HUMANISTIC IMITATIONS OF LUCRETIUS

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.7, I quoted Munro's mention of the frequent imitations of Lucretius in the *Hymni Naturales* of Marullus. Jacopo Sannazaro refers to the same fact (before 1528), Eleg. 2.2:

Nec gemat exilium Spartani Musa Marulli,  
ventura ad nostras ingeniosa dapes,  
verba sed antiqui reddat numerosque Lucreti,  
dum magnis divos laudibus accumulat.

In Baptista Mantuanus's Nicolaus Tolentinus (on the life of St. Nicholas of Tolentino) 2.197-225 (1509), there is a passage which seems to show an acquaintance with the Lucretian theory of *simulacra* in the Fourth Book:

Quinque viis, tanquam speculis, per corpora (sensus dicimus) ad mentem subeunt tenuissima rerum pro rebus, simulachra modis gradientia miris. Nam species a rebus eunt, velut ire videmus a Phebo et stellis radios; per inania missae undique circumneunt auras, et lumina fallunt. Testantur rerum effigies in flumine visae in speculis, visa in saxis specularibus ora nostra fidem faciunt; vis haec incognita rebus. Mens igitur missas species, si lumina somnus non ligat, agnoscit; quod si sopor occupat artus, non agnoscit eas, sed res putat, illius instar qui putat inspectas animantia vera figuram. Hinc igitur veniunt animos agitantia nostros somnia quae, volucri dum mobilitate feruntur illae agiles formae, fingunt quaecunque per orbem conari Natura potest, quaecumque voluntas, non nunquam maiora etiam; nam monstra videmur cernere quae Natura nequit producere, montes ire per arios tractus, hominemque volatu tendere per nubes, et currere flumina retro. Hac lemures persaepe pias deludere mentes arte solent, obscoena oculis dum occurrit imago vera vel in somnis, mox evigilantia corda titillare potens fragilemque inflectere sensum. Propterea somnum, castis quasi moribus hostem, oderat, et multam in noctem servare legendi insomnes oculos, saepe expectare solebat Luciferum, saepe Auroram, etc.

In Baldesar Castiglione's famous eclogue Alcon (1506), line 129,

summittaque novos tellus tibi daedala flores,  
recalls Lucretius 1.7.

In Andrea Navagero's eclogue Iolas, lines 16-18,

exultim virides ludunt armenta per herbas  
lascivique agni infirmisque artibus hodi  
cornigeras matres per florida prata sequuntur,

recall Lucretius 1.259-261 (Navagero's other eclogue Damon was written in 1509; he died in 1529).

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